571 tions of community members. We now propose to display some of the ways in which further sets of performances, among them drinking, are associated with those already described.

Roles and the procurement of alcohol

273* 571 178 The procurement of alcohol for drinking involves social relationships which have undergone a change within the period of study. Traditionally, Aguacatenangueros have obtained 273* 439 aguardiente--a distilled sugar cane alcohol--by purchase. For many years aguardiente was manufactured by ladinos in San Cristobal and in Comitan principally for sale to the Indians. Before 1940, one ladino family established a liquor monopoly throughout the highlands and with the aid of government liquor inspectors was able to close down all competitors, which meant that production in Comitan and San Cristobal was completely stopped save for the factories of this family. In the first part of this period, then, Aguacatenangueros bought all their aguardiente from Comitan, and it was and still is known as 273* 548 comiteco by Indians and ladinos throughout the area. With the closing down of the several factories that produced aguardiente, Indians--principally Chamulas--began to manufacture the aguardiente in clandestine stills in mountain areas that were apparently difficult to patrol. The monopoly determined price of about 90 [435] pesos a garafón (18 liters) was cut nearly in half by these clandestine operators.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

294 438 With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them. 294 438 439 With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango market. 438 439 As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Aguacatenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off. +273

+32 438 The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas) and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between there and Chanal. 548 687 The use of clandestine aguardiente was still restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

548 687 distilling aguardiente. Distillation of aguardiente continued for a relatively short time (perhaps as long as three to four years) because satisfactory arrangements could not be worked out within the community so that the distillers would not be denounced to the authorities by their neighbors. Unlike Amatenango, where the clandestine distillation of aguardiente continues to the present time, inspectors were able to discover and destroy the four or five stills operated by the men of Aguacatenango. The punishments meted out to the owners were relatively severe, some having to spend as long as a year in jail and having to pay as much as 1000 pesos to secure their release.

273* [178] The pattern of procurement of aguardiente has changed substantially in Aguacatenango since the time we began doing [432] field work there. In 1957, when we were first there, the buying of aguardiente was both situation-and-family-specific. Most of the aguardiente was being bought in Pinola and later in Teopisca and had to be carried on one's back to Aguacatenango. In an- [796] ticipation of each fiesta or other occasion where it was known drinking would take place, each family would bring in three or four liters for that occasion. Beyond this family supply, there was relatively little aguardiente in the community. It was not at all unusual, after a fiesta, to see men inquiring all over town about the possibility of buying, or borrowing, a liter of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

Entrepreneurship. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos, the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323 178 442 443 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 471 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of 273 443 434 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-developed home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liquor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

[675] [681] [583] [275] [216] [548] [435]

241 442 443 Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

[435] [489]

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptation to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities. Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co-operative was harassed by the old group, since the president did everything in his power to cut down their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneuvered the appointment of the chief business agent of the new truck cooperative and three other members as *nič'anil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passengers from Tzo?ontahal to Himšol, the neighboring Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee secured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the opposition candidate failed to get more than 28. Once PRI support was obtained, the election on November 20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as in the capital. This is the first election which has been contested in 10 years. The last contest came when some members of the barrio of Yut' hok became members of the minor party, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Because this group and their presidential candidate all came from one side of the dual division, Alannantik, those from the other side said that they should have a party representative. They drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN candidate won. The present contest was drawn on the basis of membership in the truck-owning cooperatives which cut across the dual division.

The present nominee did not want to run for office. Early in the running there were verbal threats on his life. He had never passed in any office other than that of president of the ejido commission, and although the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposition to his candidacy developed. First in importance was the original trucking cooperative, which objected to the competition of the president and his faction in the new cooperative. Second, these members spread the rumor that the new president would bring in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which was becoming one of Tzo?ontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]